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A Modest Apology for the Loyal Protestant Subjects of King James, who desire His Restoration, without Prejudice to our Religion, Laws, or Liberties: In Answer to the Pretences of the French Invasion Examined.

In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

I Have read over the Pamphlet you sent me; and at your Importunity have here sent you some Reflections upon it, *en passant*: I am sensible that the subject Matter might, and deserved to have been handled larger, and with more accuracy, but you desiring so very speedy a return, I have but time to write legible my first Scratches, hoping some Person of a happier Vein and Master of his Time will undertake the Vindication of us Protestants, who dare not disavow our Allegiance to our King. I shall detain you no longer in the Porch, but to tell you that I follow the Author from Page to Page, and so am oblig'd to make some Repetitions where he doth the like, either in other Phrases or different Applications; therefore it will be convenient you compare this with the Pamphlet as you perused.

The Pen-man of this Discourse saith, *That the Sword hath thus long been kept from destroying an only us, is a Blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woful Desolation it hath made in all Neighbouring Nations; nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God and their Majesties for keeping us in Peace, who give the least Incouragement to this intended Descent, which must turn our Land into an Acedama.*

There is small Thanks owing to the P. of O. for his Warding the destroying Sword thus long from us, if we consider that he only hath involved these Kingdoms in a War, we had never been engaged in, if our lawful King had been still upon his Throne; if we have not seen the woful Desolation it hath made in all Neighbouring Nations, yet Scotland and Ireland have been sufficiently harrassed with it; if it had not been that we have so unfortunately espous'd his Quarrel, we had not lost above a Hundred thousand Fellow-subjects, near upon Two thousand Ships, nor seen Hundreds of Families reduced to Beggery by Losses, want of Trade and exorbitant Taxes; if these be Blessings, we owe them indeed to those Majesties he

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mentions;

mentions ; but Mankind may be well satisfied he preserves us only as his Magazines and Garisons, which he may have resort to when his Confederates can no longer support him; and then we may expect to be an *Auldama*, the miserable Theatre of his last Efforts.

As to our Author's big Words of *Conspiracies and Combinations of Protestants, with blind or bloody Papists*, or calling our late King's attempt to regain his Crown, a *French Invasion against our Country and Religion*; it is not giving loyal Subjects black Names should terrify them from their Duty: He must know that whoever shall be the forwardest to repair to the Royal Standard, do it to save the effusion of English Blood, and for a generous and good End, to rescue us from Dutch Slavery, and an endless War; and upon those very Motives the Author mentions, and endeavours to render weak and frivolous: But I hope I shall maintain and vindicate them as Just and Honourable, and such as *loyal Protestants* need not to be ashamed of.

Our Author saith, our first pretended Motive is, *That the late King was unjustly deprived of his Birthright by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in the Possession of it; and now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his Subjects must either assist, or at least not oppose him.* To this he replies, *That all the late King's Sufferings were owing to, and caused by the Counsels of his Popish Priests, and the Bigots of that Persuasion; Protestants were not the Aggressors, &c.*

However the King's favourable aspects to those of his Religion might damp the Affections of his Protestant Subjects, yet his Sufferings were principally owing to the sensibleness the Dutch had, that the King by his granting Liberty of Conscience, and providing such Naval and Military Stores, had a design to promote the Traffick of his Subjects, and oblige the Dutch to a juster and more equitable regulation of Trade, than any of our Kings could hitherto obtain. This gaul'd them in the sensible part, and they well knew they must either embarrass him at home, or they must forego their cursed treacherous Art in circumventing our Trade. The King's Religion gave them an handle to their Wishes, and the P. of *Orange's* Ambition prompted him to concur with them in all their Designs: By the E. of *Shaftsbury's* and his Popish, and Presbyterian Plot, they had sufficiently try'd the Nations jealousy against the growth of Popery. And that he had been their Agent, his taking Sanctuary there, when his mischievous Intrigues had been fully discovered, is a sufficient proof; and that another of his Bench, who instigated King *James* to do all those Things of which our Author exclaimeth, was likewise a principal Agent for the Prince and Them, is as conspicuous; and he hath now manifested it to the World, by his retreat thither upon the Revolution, his Uncle's residence with the Prince, and his Own, and his Friends boasts of it. To these it is that our King principally oweth all his Sufferings.

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As to the *bold attempts of the King upon our Laws, our Religion and Properties*, which our Author makes the *First and only Cause* of his Sufferings, he means his Declaration of Indulgence, and Dispensing with Penal Laws: But if we consider the Ends which King *James* proposed in that Affair, we cannot so deeply charge him with a Male-administration, that could make him forfeit his Right to his Crown. He had observed the causes of our late Civil Wars, the transplanting so many Families out of *England* to *Holland*, *America*, and other Places in his Father's and Brother's Reign, to the loss of Ours and the encrease of the Dutch Trade, the Sufferings of those of his own Religion also in times by past, ascribed by Dissenters, and them solely, to the severity of the Penal Laws. He foresaw, by the attempt of the D. of *Monmouth*, he must expect Troubles, if Dissenters were not more easie, and Trade would sink, which he had set upon in his serious Thoughts by all Methods possible to improve, and could think of no better Expedient to effect all those, than by granting Liberty of Conscience. He had before his Eyes the infinite benefit the German Empire had reaped by the Treaty of *Munster*; by which, after a most destructive Civil War, upon the score of Religion, which had lasted almost an Age, a Peace was established by the most mature Deliberations and Councils of the greater part of the Roman Catholick and Protestant Princes of *Europe*; the Cement of all which, was the Tolleration of Religion, which ever since hath kept that vast Empire in Unity within its self. Such an Harmony amongst his Subjects the King hoped and wished to establish; and till it could be setled by Law, endeavoured to attempt by Prerogative; yet with all Security to the Church of *England*, without any diminution of its Rights and Privileges, as established by Law, excepting in that particular of exerting the Penal Laws; and no doubt such an Harmony, as the King only aimed at, that Dissensions in Religion might create no difference in Allegiance, might have been then effected, as we find it now in the main. If we had considered our common Interest, and had not been diverted by the deepest Policies of *Holland*, and the unnatural Ambition of their Prince; so that the Millions involved in Blood and Ruin have more reason to exclaim, and cry to Heaven for Vengeance against the States and their Prince, than against King *James*.

As to the *Injuries and Violences our free Nation did so long and so patiently endure under K. James*, they were not so much as Flea-bitings, comparatively to the Rackings, Tortures, Fleamings, Carnage, and Losses it hath undergone since the Revolution: Our unreasonable Fears and Jealousies then, are now turned to real Torments and Miseries.

Our Author saith, *When some Top was to be put to the final Raine of our Liberties and Religion, it was done at first by Petitions and Complaints. This was done by genuine Sons of the Church of England, who stood firm to the old and established*

establish'd Doctrine of *Nonresistance*, which even Dr. *Barnet* at that time pro-claim'd from his Pulpit in *Holland*, as the Doctrine of our Church; though at the same time he was as deeply engaged in contriving the Change, as any one about the Prince; and I doubt not, to serve his Interest now, will press it as much as ever; though neither he, nor any of his Perfidious, practis'd it under King *James*, longer than they were able to dispute *Preeminence* with the Sword.

That the Foreign Prince came only to cover the *Protestants* of England, while *Grievances* were fairly redress'd, I know, was a cunning Pretence in the Prince's Declaration: However, even in that we find no solemn Protestations that he design'd no Attempt upon the Crown; which shews he had then some farther Work than to see Grievances redress'd: And though he promised to send his Troops back, yet there is not one Syllable of his own Return. From which, and many preceding and subsequent Actions, 'tis rational to conceive that he and *Sieur Bentinck* had other Projects in their Heads, than any other of the Conf'd rates were to know, or the States-General, if we may believe what follows.

In the Extract of the States-Generals Resolutions, Dated *Thursday* the 28th of *October*, 1688. wherein they give the Reasons why they granted to the P. of *Orange*, for his Assistance, some Ships and Militia, as Auxiliaries; they say, 'That his Highness hath declar'd to their Highnesses, That he resolv'd with God's Grace and Favour to go over into *England*, not with the least Insight or Intention to *Invaade or Subdue that Kingdom*, or to remove the King from the Throne; much less to make himself Master thereof, or to invert or prejudice the Lawful Succession; as also not to drive thence or persecute the *Roman Catholics*; but only and solely to help that Nation in re-establishing the Laws and Privileges that have been broken, as also in maintaining their Religion and Liberties. That a free and Lawful Parliament may be called. That the said Parliament may deliberate upon and establish all such Matters as shall be judg'd necessary to secure the Lords, the Clergy, the Gentry and People, that their Rights, Laws, and Privileges, shall be no more violated or broken. That their High and Mightinesses hope and trust, that with God's Blessing the Repose and Unity of that Kingdom shall be re-established, and the same be thereby brought into a Condition to be able powerfully to concur to the common Benefit of *Christendom*, and to the restoring of Peace and Tranquility in *Europe*.

By this last Clause, their true meaning was to Considerate with them against *France*; for King *James* had redress'd all or most of the Grievances here complain'd of, before the States-General published these their Resolutions, and determin'd to call a free Parliament.

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Büt to proceed: As to the Prince's *Offering a Treaty*, if it had been before his coming over, to have been transacted by the Ambassadors of the States, and some Envoy from himself, it had discover'd more Candor and Ingenuity. But the States and the Prince were so far from discovering any thing that way, that they deny'd, till their Forces were ready to Embark, that their Preparations were design'd against *England*. This Treaty was not offered till long after the King had redress'd most of the Grievances this Author complains of; as the Restoring the Bishops to his Favour, the Fellows of *Magdalen College* to their Fellowships, Corporation-Charters, Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, to their Offices; nor after the Prince was landed, till the King was retired to *Whitehall*, after the P. of *Denmark*, D. of *Ormond*, *Grafton*, Lord *Churchil*, and divers others had deserted him, and the Prince was gone into the North, to countenance the Forces there; so that the King knew not in whose Fidelity to rely. Besides, it was very apparent, That if the Prince had only intended *Pag 3.* to cover our heads, while the Grievances were fairly redress'd, not to take away the King's Rights, he would have stay'd the March of his Army at a convenient Distance, that a Treaty might have proceeded upon equal Terms; whereas on the contrary he marcht on *Jebu* like, which was a manifest Indication that he design'd to attack his Person. And the King being uncertain who to confide in at Land, and his Fleet having sent him no very acceptable Address, it was high time for him to provide for his Safety, both the Laws of Self-preservation, the Care of his Kingdoms and his Posterity, requiring it; as now too late perceiving what he was unwilling to believe, That the Prince design'd to deprive him of his Crown.

That our Author might more slyly insinuate, That the King abdicated the Throne, he jumbles matters done at different times, That *during the continuance of the Treaty he disbanded his Army, dissolv'd the Government, and as much as in him lay attempted to desert the Throne, and seek Aids from an Enemies Country, which might secure him against redressing any Grievances, and enable him to be reveng'd on the Complainers.*

As for the disbanding the Army, the King having no farther use of those he could not confide in for his Defence, was not willing to expose such as were Loyal to Slaughter, or to have them seized on by their treacherous Companions; So they being paid to the last Muster, he dissolved them, and withdrew himself: and how, after his Return from *Fewersham* to *Whitehall*, the English Guards were removed, and the Dutch set upon him, and after Midnight a Message sent to him to depart from *Whitehall* by Nine of the Clock next Morning, in a most insolent manner, our Author passes by in Silence, lest he should give any ground to his Readers to interpret the King's Escape to any Enforcement on the Prince's part, and that they might more glibly

swallow the Notion of the King's dissolving the Government by a Voluntary Abdication, which even this Author himself contradicts, when he saith he sought Aid from an Enemies Country, to enable him to be reveng'd, &c. But of this Abdication, I shall have an occasion to treat hereafter: And for his Majesty's Retreat to *France*, it was not before he found he was not safe in any part of his own Realms; and to get to *Denmark* or *Sweden* was not possible, if he could have had time to have sent for a safe Conduct: And I suppose no Man could think the King so void of Sense, as to trust himself, the Queen and Prince, in the hands of any of the Princes Confederate with the P. of *Orange*; so that he had reason to have Recourse to that great King, whose Honour and Generosity he could more certainly rely upon for Protection than any other, upon the single account of that King's Heroick Soul, prompt to succour a Prince so injur'd, and particularly by one that was his sworn Enemy. I have thought fit to enlarge upon this Head, because all King *James's* Enemies make the King's Retreat thither a specious Pretence and Argument of his early being imbarqued in his Interest; which if he had, he would not have refused the Offers of Assistance from the K. of *France*, to have prevented the Decent of the Prince. I shall now attend our Author.

He goes on, *We did not make the Throne vacant; but the late Bishops and other Peers at Guildhall believed he had left it void, or else they would not without his consent have seized on the Administration of the Government, secured his Chancellor, taken Possession of the Tower, and offered the Exercise of the Supream Power to the P. of Orange.* To this I answer, That our Laws own no *Interregnum*. The Officers of Justice, Magistrates, Privy Counsellors, &c. while the King lives, though he either be taken Prisoner by an Enemy, or by escape is forced to abscond, may and ought (as far as the Enemy will give them leave) to perform the Duty of their Places, in preserving the Peace, suppressing Riotous Assemblies, defending themselves and Country from Enemies, and administering Justice. But that our Laws allow any Peers Privy Counsellors, or others, to displace any Governours of Forts, imprison any Minister of State, deprive any Fellow-Subject of their Commission, much more to offer the Exercise of the Supream Power to any foreign Prince invading, are things I suppose our Laws have not allowed; so that I conceive, what those Lords did, was rather out of Awe of or Affection to the Prince, either to conciliate his Favour, or yeild it, knowing he expected that Tender of the Government, than any Right they had to do it.

Our Author proceeds, *The King left us in Anarchy, and we provided for our selves in the best manner such a juncture would allow.* If the Prince I ad not design'd from the beginning to Ravish the Crown from his Father-in-Law's Head, he would have given him Pledges of his Safety, and never have forced him to so precipitate a Flight, nor indutritiously set the Mob in such a Ferment through

through the whole Kingdom and Scotland, of the Papists and Irish Massacring and Burning Towns and Villages at such remote Distances, in two or three Nights, purposely to make an universal Consternation, that every where he might be worshipped as their sole Deliverer.

The Author's declining to enquire, *Whether those Subjects who are so zealous for the King's return, were not bound to have done more than they did to keep him on his Throne when he had it*, implies they did not their Duties; and if one may guess at his meaning, he thinks them Cowards for it. But if most of those, who in that Confusion knew not who to confide in, whereby they might make a stand to oppose the Torrent, or by the over-awing Power, or the confidence that the Prince designed only the securing our Religion, and no violation of the Rights of the King: If, I say, on such Considerations they acted as Men either forced by Fear, or relying on the Prince's Honor and Justice, rather than proceeding according to the precepts of Laws, or the dictates of right Reason, and these Gentlemen having seen and seriously reflected on the fatal Consequences of the Revolution, do now repent of their by-past Actions, and with great Zeal endeavour the King's Restoration without Blood shed, and with him the recovery of Peace and Plenty and our antient Laws. Surely, notwithstanding all the Affrightments our Author urgeth, they will prove true Patriots to their Country, Gentlemen of far greater Candor, Justice and Honor, than those who would still keep us under Dutch Servitude, and under the National Guilt of Perjury, and continue Us, and all Christendom, in a bloody, expensive and ruinous War.

What follows in our Author, is a Doctrine only Calculated for Rebellious Subjects, who are forced to make use of any Pretext to palliate their Wick- edness: For Sovereign Hereditary Princes cannot forego their Right when they please, unless by a voluntary Resignation to their next immediate Heir, as Charles the Fifth and the Q. of Sweden did; but surely a King driven from his Kingdom by Force, may justly attempt to recover it again by Force, when he hath Opportunity, and that by the aid of Foreigners joyned with his own Subjects, when he was expelled by such.

He saith, *Some body must govern when the King will not, and that must be the next undoubted Heir in an Hereditary Monarchy*, all which I allow. But this is not our Case; our King did not voluntarily quit his Government, neither is the P. of O. his next undoubted Heir; and he hath a very treacherous Memory when he saith, *Whoever doth govern in Chief in this Nation must be King by the Constitution*; for either by Constitution he must mean the uninterrupted Hereditary Succession, and than the P. of O. is no King by our Constitution; or he must take in the Original Contract, as a part of the Constitution, and than our late Common-wealth should have been Dubbed King Rump, and the Protector, King Oliver long Nose.

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That a King according to our Constitution must have Power sufficient to protect himself, and the Nation against all their Enemies, which cannot be without swearing Allegiance will be owned. But he will never find in our Books of Law or Statutes, That a new Constitution, framed by a Convention, chosen by the Writ of a Foreigner, who had no legal Right to issue out such Writs, can oblige the Subjects: For an Error and illegality in the Foundation, can never be set to rights in the Superstructure. Pag. 4.

What our Author next urgeth, *That when a King and Queen are declared, submitted to, and owned by Oaths, and all other Methods required; in such cases the King is not at liberty to give up his own Power and the Protection of us, nor are the People free to joyn with him that deserted them;* shews how fallaciously he argues by putting in the word Deserted, which is begging the Question. However he hath herein owned, That a lawful King can neither abdicate his Right, nor be abdicated, which utterly cuts the Sinews of all his Arguments for the King's leaving the Throne vacant, unless he conclude the Vacancy to be as often as the King ceaseth to sit on it.

We English-men are greatly oblig'd to our Author for his Instructing us in our Duty of Allegiance, when he tells us, *That the French King will not grant that the Citizens of those Cities, who were Subjects to Spain, or the Emperor, and bound by Oaths to those Princes (but have now submitted to him, and sworn new Allegiance) are obliged to venture their Lives and Fortunes, by virtue of their old Oaths to restore those Cities to their former Masters.* It might have been expected from this Writer, that the King of France being so Topping a Tyrant, the P. of O. would not have treated us after those French Methods of enforcing Allegiance; but by the Steps he already makes, if he lives to his Years, and have proportionable Success, no doubt he will make our Monarchy more absolute, than ever it hath been since King John's time. However our perfect Hobbist should have supposed the Cases parallel: If we be a Conquered People, (as without doubt he must own those Cities are,) let his King declare it so, and we are willing to swear such like Allegiance as they do: But I suppose it's not yet seasonable to do so, though some former Writers, on this Subject, have been Squinting that way; which if they would speak our, I presume, our Parliaments would reward them for it with a Halter.

In the next place our Author lays great stress *Up on Oaths, Duty and Interest, both of this King, and his Army to oppose King James, if they be not perjur'd Hypocrites.* What then are they that formerly have sworn more legal Oaths of Allegiance to their true King, and broke them? Oh! they are Saints, but surely Hypocritical Ones. His Bowels yearn, for bleed I am sure they cannot, *To consider what Murthers, Burning, Plundering and Destruction he brings upon his Native Country, who encourage the Aggressors.* But he hath a Heart of Flint and Bowels of Stone, for all those who have suffered the like under this bl-ss'd Government. In

In the next place he would persuade us, *That our King is void of Pity and Compassion to his Subjects, if he will not rather sit quietly under his single Injuries, than wish or however attempt to be restored by Blood and universal Ruine: And if he have no Pity for us, why should we be so concern'd for him, &c.* It is Recorded of King Henry VI. by *Hollinshead*, That receiving at a time a Blow from a wicked Man, which compassed his Death, he only said, *Forsooth, forsooth, you do foolishly to smite a King Anointed* So another also, who thrust him into the Side with a Sword, when he was Prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his State and Kingdom.

These Passages are recorded in History, to that unfortunate King's great Praise; and After-ages no doubt will do the like to our King, in recording the many Princely Virtues he is endow'd with: And amongst the rest, there are great and signal Instances of his forgiving Temper, and more of his Compassion for his Subjects Sufferings; and I think there is no Prince, except his Royal Father, who hath suffered more Injuries, with an invincible Patience, than he hath done: And for his Compassion to the Suffering of his Subjects, it is well known how he hath resent'd the Death of those slain in Battle, the loss of our Merchant-Ships; and that he refused to grant some Privateers of France Commissions, though they offered to bring him the Prizes they should take, for his Substinance; which are greater Instances of his innate Kindness and Compassion for his Subjects, than ever we have heard of *King William*. And we have reason to ascribe the not destroying of our Fleet, two Years since, by the French Admiral, (when it was as much in his power, by burning a great number of them after the Defeat of Admiral *Herbert*, as it was in Admiral *Russell's* now to execute the same upon the French) to the tender Regard the King had to his Subjects, that his Navy might not be totally ruined. And notwithstanding some Peoples ridiculing the King's late Gracious Declaration, which whether it be his or not, I am wholly ignorant, yet if it be not his own, it comes very near, in the indulgent part of it, to the King's blessed Temper; and if it be his, it will remain to all Ages a lasting Monument of his Mercy, Forgiveness, and kindness to his People.

The King's going away whilst the Treaty was on foot, is by our Author Trumped up again, to usher in a notorious Untruth, *That he never yet offer'd any since: Which, his Letter from Rochester, and that from St. Germans, though the Convention would not vouchsafe to read it, positively contradict.* And Persons of Honour and Quality, who know the Inclinations of his Soul infinitely better than the Author, well know he desires more to be restored by the Invitation and Affection of his People, than by the Sword, or a Foreign Force.

We are told next by this confident Gentleman, *That we (that is* Pag 5. *the Prince and his Foreigners, and English Conspirators) did not force him to go away in Disguise:* It seems there is no other Violence used to a Prince which muſt be called force, unleſs a Crew of Ruſſians come with cocked Piſtols, and drawn Swords to his Anti-chamber, and ſo force him for fear of immediate Death to eſcape in Diſguiſe. His Majelties unſafe Circumſtances I have before declared, which will juſtifie to the World the Neceſſity of attempting his eſcape out of the Hands of ſuch bloody Enemies.

Our Author takes no notice of the great Civility of the P. of O. in ſending that reaſonable Meſſage to the King after mid-night, as I have touch'd before; or of the Civility of removing the Engliſh Guards, and placing his Dutch Horſe and Foot in their rooms: This is no Dragoning a King; but if that he attempt with the aſſiſtance of his own Subjects, and Foreign aids, to recover his Right, oh then, *We may and muſt oppoſe him, for our Allegiance is transferred upon another.* How unjuſtly ſo ever it is, that concerns not our kind Author to inform our Judgments in.

We muſt have another Diſh now of our Author's twice boyled Coleworts. *There is no injury done to any, he ſaith, but to the King himſelf, and thoſe who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of Poſſeſſion:* It ſeems the Kingdoms have no concern for the well or ill Faring of thir King; his Subjects have no Part in Him. Surely ſuch a bold Aſſertion ſhould be backed with ſome Reaſon; and it is as followeth, *The Monarchy, the Law, the Church and Prerogative, are in bitter Eſtate than in King James's time; and all theſe, with innumerable private perſons muſt be irreparably injured by his return in a Hoſtile manner.* Sure this good Gentleman thinks his Authority is very great, that we ſhould believe every word he writes without Examination or Scruples. We have indeed a Dutch Eleſtive Monarchy inſtead of an Hereditary Engliſh one, all the Laws of the ancient Conſtitution abrogated or wreſted; and, I think, all ſober Men will judge, that the new ones, made to ſuperceed the old, are not y^t of ſo long Standing, as that a due Compariſon of *Betterneſs* can be judged; the long Parliaments Ordinances and Acts, were as much magnified for a time. And as to the Church; if renouncing its old Doctrine of Obedience in its Canons and Homilies, if the Perjury of the greateſt part of the Clergy, and the Depriving of the Moſt Reverend, Orthodox, Pious, and Learned Biſhops and Miniſters, who could not take the new illegal Oaths of their Biſhops ſeeks and Benefices (not ſo much as allowing their Wives and Children a Fifth, as the moſt unmerciful long Parliament did to thoſe they expelled) be Tokens of a better State of the Church, we muſt yield him the Argument. And as to our Properties, while our Eſtates are at the diſpoſal of the Government, to impoſe the moſt exorbitant Taxes that ever this Nation bore, though this Gentleman never ſo confidently avers Taxes to be

be no Burthens, yet I am sure our fleeced Country find the vast difference betwixt their present Condition, and the State they were in during the Reign of King James; when they neither paid Poll, Aids, nor one Penny Taxes (except one small imposition on Tobacco, &c.)

Next follows a most intolent Answer to a charitable Plea, *That he who was born to a Kingdom really wants Subsistence.* To this he replies, *That if he would seek the Peace of Christendom and of his late Subjects, he might by a fair Treaty set on foot, not only restore the Exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable Maintenance from this Government; but while the War he makes upon us puts us to so great Expence, he cannot imagine we should give him a Supply to enable him to ruin us.* This Flounish amounts to no more or less, than that if the King will by a Treaty renounce his Right to these Kingdoms, as the King of Spain after a tedious War, did his to the Seven Provinces; and make a Renunciation, and Transfer his right Title and Interest to the Prince and Princesses of Orange: He than should, during their Pleasures, have Food and Rayment, and some Pocket Expences. But then he must make no War upon us; that is, he must oblige the King of France to put up his Sword. A pretty practicable Condition! Sure King JAMES'S Fortune is not yet so low, as to beg an Alms of his Children, or sell his Birth-right for a Mess of Dutch Portage. As to the Peace of Christendom I shall treat of it hereafter.

I now come to the second Motive; *Why we Protestants should endeavour King James's Restoration; viz. Because thereby we should deliver our selves from the Oppression we suffer under, by ease of Taxes and restoring of Trade*

I must here consider his Answer more narrowly, and by Parts; it consisting most in Recrimination. It is great pity, saith he, that they who have the wit to invent or urge this Plea, have not Memory to remind them, that none complained more of the Danger of Law and Religion of our Lives and Fortunes in that Reign, than many who have this high Opinion of it now. The cruel Severities in the West, the High Commissions, turning out of Officers, all good Protestants, attempting to reverse all the Penal Laws, putting unqualified Men into all Places of Trust, Profit and Power, excluding the Fellows of Magdalen, and putting in Papists; with the Imprisonment and Tryal of the Bishops, were thought Oppressions then; but now all these are buried in Oblivion.

I shall not here undertake to vindicate King James's Administration in all these particulars, because he was pleaded to redress most of them before the P. of O. landed; which sufficiently demonstrates, that he deserved not this severe Treatment by Abdication, nor the continual loading him with such black Crimes: For he is not the only Prince in the World, who attempting to introduce some things in Administration, which in their Opinion, and the Judgment of a considerable part of their Subjects, might be conducive to some publick Good; yet upon the Essay, finding it not relished, or entertained by
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another part of the Subjects, have recalled their Declarations, and re-instated Men and Matters in the Condition they found them. So Queen *Elizabeth* revoked some Grants of Monopolies, as we find in *Camden*, fol. 635, which at the first Granting had an appearance of common Benefit. So King *Charles* the First redressed many of those reputed Grievances of Loans, Benevolences, Purveyors, Coat and Conduct Money, &c. that had been used in all his Ancestors time, and as much in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign as any. And King *Charles* the Second recalled his Indulgence. Indeed these Princes afforded these Acts of Grace, upon the Addresses of their Parliaments; but King *James* did some of those before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, which he Convened for Advice, had moved them; and the rest he did at their Desire. And it is not only Princes, but Parliaments, have retracted their own Acts: And it is from the Sense that the wisest Men have, That what may be convenient for a People at one time may not at another, that Parliaments make so many probationary Acts.

Since therefore all the Enemies of King *James* make these Administrations of him the popular Topics of all their Calumnies, I will endeavour to set the grounds of them in a perspicuous Light, and then hope the Candid and Ingenious part of the Nation will find they did not flow from any Tyrannical Principle, or Design to break in upon our Laws, or destroy the Church of *England*, or invade the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects; but that they all flowed from his Desire to establish a Liberty of Conscience, for the common Good of his People: Which not only being suspected by the Church of *England*, to tend, at least, to the weakening of it; and the Protestant Religion, but being like to prove of the last ill Consequence to the *Dutch*, who have got all their Wealth and Riches in Trade by it; it was not to be wondered that the *Dutch* studied all the subtlest ways they could, to possit us here with a Belief, That the ultimate end of this Liberty was only to propagate his own Religion.

I shall begin with the Charge as it lies: And His Majesties cruel *Severities* in the West leads the Van. It is well known what Disturbance that Duke gave to King *Charles* II. how he was made the Prince of *Orange's* and the Dissenters Tool: And it is as well known how he was carested at the *Hague*, and secretly furnished with all things requisite for his Invasion, and what Endeavours were used there and here to make him a strong Party. But every one knows not that, which a Confident of the Prince's can prove, That the Plot was laid to shake King *JAMES*, before he was settled in the Throne, and to try the Inclinations of the Protestants; how they would stick to and defend a R. C. King; but without any Intention that the Duke of *Monmouth* should succeed. Therefore when it was seen that his Forces increased, three Regiments then in the *Dutch* Pay, which had been sent for before, were permitted to come

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over so late: And the Prince knowing, That if the Duke once took the Title of King, he would lessen his Interest, therefore he oblig'd Mr. Fer--n, for a Sum promised, and in hand, to put him upon declaring himself King; which Advice he followed, to his Ruine. As to the Severities in the *West*, our Author means the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of the Rebels, which was done according to the Prescript of the Laws. But although the King had reason, for Terror sake, upon so dangerous a Rebellion, to execute the Rigour of the Law; yet lest the then Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies* might be too severe, he sent Mr. *Pollexfen*, a known Favourer of all Dissenters, as his Solicitor to temper the late Lord Chancellor's heat: And it is well known, That the King's Pardons saved some thousands of Criminals, who were guilty of Treason, and thereby 'obnoxious to the Sentence of Death and Forfeitures of Estates. And to prevent any such future Attempts, the King was farther persuaded of the Advantage that would accrue to him and his Subjects by the Indulgence, of which I shall discourse hereafter. And thus much I hope may suffice, as to the *Severities in the West*.

As to the High Commission, it was at first Enacted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and founded upon the very Law which established the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters; which I suppose none, at least, of our Church will dispute. The Corporal Punishments imposed upon Offenders in King *Charles* the First's Reign, occasioned it to be insisted upon by the long Parliament as a Grievance; so that as to some of the Powers, formerly granted by this Commission, a Retrenchment was made in his time, but with a *Salvo* to the King's Supremacy; and the Commission King *James* granted, did not extend to any thing that was repealed in the Act of King *Charles*. And the Sentence that passed against the Bishop of *London*, was not without a full hearing of his Council of Advocates and Common Lawyers, and was passed by the Noblemen and Bishops of the Church of *England*; the Survivors of which are conformable to the Present Government. And if we consider how active that Bishop hath been since, to promote the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, in dethroning the King, the Punishment (which was only the suspending of him from his Spiritual Jurisdiction, and putting it into the hands of three Bishops, without depriving him of one Penny of the Revenue) cannot be adjudged to exceed his Crime.

The next three particulars of *Turning out of Office all good Protestants, attempting to reverse all Penal Laws, and put unqualified Men into all places of Trust, Profit and Power*, may be considered together; two of them, viz. the first and the last, being but the Consequences of the Attempt upon the Penal Laws. But before I enter upon that Subject, I must observe, That our Author, by his Word *All*, would make the World believe there was never a good Protestant during King *James*'s Reign that was not turned out, nor ever a qualified Man

substituted; whereas we, that lived here whilst this Gentleman was perhaps Plotting here or in *Holland*, know the Assertion to be egregiously false; and where the Change was greatest, if it amounted to a third or fourth part, it was the most. I am sure, however unpolitically it was done, there is no Law extant that deprives the King, of what Religion soever he is, to place or displace his Officers of State, Civil or Military, yea Judges themselves: And I suppose he will not deny, but very good Protestants have been displaced under this Government, and the supreme Command of the Armies in *England* and *Ireland* put into the hands of Foreigners, the *English* being flighted, and the Test-Act as little regarded, as if it were dispensed with.

As to the Breach of any Law, though this Author generally, through his whole Tract, charges the King with subverting the Laws, yet neither he, nor any of the King's most violent Enemies, can instance in any, except his Attempts, as he calls them, of reversing the Penal Laws; and at the most it was but an Attempt, the grounds of which are abundantly explained and enforced in his Declaration for Indulgence; which I do not remember that either in his Reign, or since, when they might freely have done it, any have attempted to disprove particularly. Besides what I have before said down upon this Head, give me leave a little further to enlarge, since this Dissenting and the Consequences of it, are the only things which have raised all the Clamours against the King; for I believe, by reason of the difference of Religion, and the Designs of the States and the Prince of *Orange*, although the King had never done any thing in that particular, but had carried the *Ch. of England* in the highest degree yet Storms had been raised against him by Dissenters, and others of the *Shaftsbury* Faction.

It's not to be doubted, but the King, being of too Heroick a Temper to disturb his Religion, or suffer those of it to be persecuted in his Reign, resolved in his Royal Mind by what Methods he might Govern a divided People, to imbrutize one against the other in point of Religion. He likewise judged it his Interest to make his People rich by Peace and Traffick; so that if he could conciliate an Harmony in his Peoples Minds, by rooting up the Seeds of Discord, Rancor, Faction and Rebellion, he should accomplish a Glorious Work for the publick Benefit of his People. This he foresaw could not be effected by espousing the Interest of any one Party, his Royal Office being to be a Father of his People; therefore he resolved upon one Expedient, which he judged most agreeable to extensive Christian Charity, his own merciful Inclinations, and the effecting of those things which after so long a Civil War, and the Convulsions of his Royal Brothers and his own Reign, by the Attempts of the Duke of *Monmouth*, were requisite to settle the Ferments of all Parties: And that was, by suspending the Execution of the Penal Laws. This he thought would not be ungrateful to his Protestant Subjects, at a time when

When the French King was persecuting his Subjects for their Religion; so he rationally concluded it would prevent his Subjects from removing themselves and their Families into *Holland*, *Germany*, or *America*, as many had done in the former Reigns, to avoid the Severities of Penal Laws: And that it would encourage the French *Refugees* to flock hither; it being a Maxim in all Government, That the Encrease of the Number of People encreaseth the Wealth and Strength of a Country. His Liberality to these *French* was a sufficient Demonstration that at that time he had not any Design to extirpate the Protestant Religion, by a Method so disadvantageous, in the encreasing the number of those who exceeded much the number of all his R. C. Subjects put together. He gave not only Protection to these, but other Immunities; and by a very liberal Contribution throughout his Kingdom, provided for their Subsistence. Of these good Thoughts and Actions, our Author never takes Notice.

The Prerogative of the King to dispense with the Penal Laws, was Argued legally in the King's Bench, and Sentence pass'd Judicially for the King; yet we find none of those Judges either Sentenced by the late Convention, or the succeeding Parliaments: A manifest Indication that the Sentence was not Illegal. And for a further Demonstration of it, the Dispensing Power is exercised in this Government, not only in the Non inflicting the Penal Laws upon Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and rendering the Test-Act obsolete, but in the Dispensing with all the Acts of Navigation; a Matter of more infinite Damage to the whole Trading part of the Nation, than King *James's* Declaration was to the Officers of the Spiritual Court, who were the only losers by it.

However, in the King's Indulgence, a special Provision was made for the preserving the Rights of the Church of *England*; which is again renewed in the King's Declaration, in these Words.

And we do hereby further declare and promise, That we will protect the Church of England, as it is now by Law Established, in all their Rights, Privileges and Possessions; and that upon all Vacancies of Bishopricks, and other Dignities, and Benefices within our Disposal, care shall be taken to fill them with the most worthy of their Communion. Sur the Prince of *Orange* hath not given the like Security to our Brethren of *Scotland*; where he hath, on the contrary, utterly extirpated the Episcopal Government, which he found there settled by Law; Which shews some may better steal an Horse, than others look over the Hedge. Besides we shall find in our Author hereafter, that the Prince of *Orange* is justified in his countenancing a Tolleration. Where therefore is the Damage that the Protestant Religion of *England* did, or was like to sustain by the Tolleration? Indeed the Dutch had Reason to apprehend the ill Consequences of it to them, because it might have drained them

of their People, as well as diminished their Trade. Hence it was that their Contrivances of ruining the King's Designs, and wresting the Scepter from him Originally proceeded.

It is true, the King repented it very much, That his Protestant Subjects in general, or the Church of *England* in particular, should entertain such Jealousies of this his Design for the common Good and enriching of the Nation, and should so vehemently oppose it. Hence it was, and for no other Cause, nor without Reluctancy in his Princely Mind, that he removed the Violentest of the Protestants, who had given publick Declarations of their Dissatisfaction, and that in Parliament, in their Offices and Places in the Government, they would oppose it: So that it is no Wonder that a King, being baulked in a darling Design of his Soul, and from which he had conceived great Hopes of making all his Dominions Happy and Rich, grew Impatient thereupon; and thence it was that other Protestants, and some Papiists, were Substituted in their Places, as being better satisfied with the Benefits would accrue, and the integrity of his Intentions.

The Dissenters universally, by their infinite Addresses, with all imaginable Gratitude and Thanks, acknowledged the superlative Favour of this Indulgence; and openly avowed, That if they could have been satisfied that the King would have shewed such Clemency to them, they had never opposed his Succession, nor assisted the Duke of *Monmouth* as they did. And they were so dexterous in applying themselves to the Roman Catholics, (with whom, by this time, the eminentest Members of the Church of *England* were much Dissatisfied, partly out of Care to preserve it against the Attempts of them and Dissenters, and partly out of Apprehension, that their unpolicy Zeal would tend to the ruin of the King,) that they made a very specious shew, that for the future, they would equal, if not exceed the most Complying of his Subjects, in concurring with him to take away the Penal Laws. Hence grew the Heats and Animosities, betwixt the Church of *England* and Dissenters; which occasioned all the unpleasing Proceedings of the King, which are now so prodigiously aggravated; and which the King himself by his Retraction of them, with Men of Candor and Ingenuity, might have atoned for at a lesser rate than Dethroning.

I know it was then urg'd, That King *James* had a farther reach by this Tolleration, even to establish his own Religion upon the ruin of the Church of *England*. But we Experimentally found that the opening of Popish Chapels and Schools, the publick appearing of some Benedictines, in their Habits at *Whitehall*, made no new Converts. The Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* were only gazed on, as we would do if the Turks, Tartars, or Chineses were in their Habits, to celebrate the Offices of their Religion. Our Churches were more crowded and resorted to, than ever they were before

before or since ; so that there was no encrease of Popery by the publick Exercises of that Religion, or the liberty of Printing Books in the defence of the Doctrine of it.

If the King's Design had been to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Church of *England*, he would have taken more subtle and effective Methods, and have made an effectualler use of his Dispensing with the *Test Act*, and have entertained a much greater Number of Papists into his Army ; whereas, before the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, he had scarce one Popish Officer for thirty or forty Protestants ; and in some entire Regiments there were not twenty Common Souldiers of that Persuasion. So that neither from his Army or his Priests we were in danger, during his Reign to have suffered any Subversion of our Religion ; nor was there any more solid Reason of apprehending it, than of the Massacres, Bridles, Gridirons, and other fictitious Stories, raised purposely to scare People out of their Reason and Loyalty.

It is further to be considered that those very Men, who, as it now appears, designed nothing less than the King's ruin ; even one or more of his prime Ministers of State, promoted and pushed forward all those, the so disgusted Proceedings against the Church of *England* ; and with all industry advised, and importuned the Countenancing, and Placing in the Magistracy, Dissenters ; on purpose to bring the King into disrespect with the Church of *England*, whereby they might, with more facility, bring about the *Revolution*.

As to the business of *Magdalen College*, I need say the less of it, because as much hath been formerly Published on that Subject as the Cause will bear ; and the Contest about it was not concerning the King's Power in Dispensing with Laws, but only with College Statutes : A Matter ever practised by the Kings of *England*. And it is most certain, from the King's own Mouth, That if the Fellows had suspended their Election till the Qualifications of Mr. *Farmer* had been Examined, there had been no such dissolving of the Society, as followed. On the King's part it was no less than vindicating the rights of the Crown, in his Prerogative of Dispensing with College Statutes : And if some Mens forward and impolitick Zeal had not been such, as to recommend to the King a Person obnoxious for his Unqualifications ; and others had not purposely encouraged the Fellows, and underhand supplied them to carry the Opposition to the highest, Matters might have been dutifully composed. But the Designers of the Revolution, knowing that a Conquest of this nature would discover the Strength and Courage of the Church against the King ; and if he were foiled in this, it would be a very good Omen of their Success in their intended Work ; and if the King proceeded in it to Severity, he would lose the Affection of the University as he had of the Church : Hereupon they set all their Instruments a Work to blow the Coals

on both Sides, lest the Fire should go out. And as to the placing of *Bishop Gifford* as President, and Roman Catholick Fellows, that must be lookt upon as the most unpolitic Act of any the King did, by the over Persuasion of some Popish Councils; though it is most certain there wanted not then some Persons, and such as would be very angry if they had not the Character of Members of the Church of *England*, and are now actually in considerable Offices in this Government, who highly applauded the King for it; affirming it was fit the King should have some College in either University for Instructing and Educating the Students of his Religion, to prevent their going to Foreign Universities; and that we might better understand their Methods of Study and Discipline, wherein they have a Compendiouser way of teaching Arts and Sciences. But however the Matter was brought to extremity; yet the King dissolved that Society, and restored again the Fellows before the Prince's Invasion.

As to the Reverend Bishops, whom the King committed to the *Tower*, I have that due respect to the Fathers of our Church, that I would willingly cast a Veil over that Action: But when I consider that our Author, and especially the Pen-man of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a French Invasion*, so vehemently urge their opposing the King in the Indulgence, as a Matter wherein they much advanced the Prince of *Orange's* Interest. And the latter Author saith, *That when it was certainly known that the Prince of Orange was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it as other Men, and refused when they were pressed to it by the King, to declare their Abhorrence of it; but instead of that took upon them to give him Advice, and to publish it when they had done. In which Advice they commended almost every particular of the Prince's Declaration, complaining of the same Abuses, and advised the calling of a Parliament to redress them; as if the Prince's Declaration and their Advice, had been drawn by the same Pen, and the Advice had been published on purpose to second the Declaration.* I say when I consider such Reflections, now made upon their Actions, I cannot but allow, That upon the suggestions of a leading Nobleman in the King's Council, who hath since discovered for what end he did it, the King might have some Impressions, that the refusing to read his Declaration, had more of Design than Conscience in it; though, he is now, by the later Actions of all of them (except one) satisfied to the contrary. As to the Matter it self it is well known, That they were only required to enter into a small Recognizance for their Appearing and Answering, to the Information should be Exhibited against them at the *King's Bench*, which they refused to do; and so unwilling the King was to have committed them, that he ordered the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice, to lay the Point of Law before them; and they were twice or thrice desired to withdraw, and consider of the Arguments proposed. But one of their Number, privy to
other

other Designs, than I have the Charity to believe any of the rest knew of, hindred all Compliance. From the *Tower* they were removed by *Habias Corpus*, and had a fair Tryal and were acquitted, and afterwards again restored to the King's Favour; and their Advices followed, in Retracting most of those things the King had done contrary to their Advice; though in some things, as the Restoring Corporations, Charters, &c. the King had prevented their Advice.

In all this, the King had deprived none of them of any part of their Revenue: But however instrumental these two Authors would make them towards the Revolution, yet because they cannot transfer their Allegiance from their Lawful King to the P. of O. we find how severely this Government acts against them, and the Non-swearing Clergy; whereas the long Parliament allowed a fifth part, as I have before mentioned. All the Bishops and Clergy that are now ejected have not the Allowance of one Farthing out of their Livings; so much severer is a Dutch Government than the English, though the very Rebels of our own Country. And yet this severest Punishment may not be mentioned as any Grievance of this Government, when inflicted on Reverend, Pious, and Learned Bishops and Clergy-men, for no other Crime than resolutely and conscientiously adhering to the Fundamental Laws of the English Monarchy, and the undoubted Doctrine and Canons of the Church of England.

I have been something larger upon these Heads, because they are the constant Topicks which the virulent Enemies of King *James* make use of to vindicate their Abdication of him; and the Author of the Reflections upon the King's Declaration complains, That *things are not there taken from the Beginning*.

Having dispatched these matters, I shall proceed to consider what our Author next offers: Now, saith he, *all these are buried in Oblivion. And those Taxes which the late King and his Allie of France, with their Abettors, alone make necessary to this frugal Prince, these are our only Grievance, and this King's unpardonable Crime.* I wish it could be said, That Taxes are our only Grievance. However, he can never Prove that if King *James* had still been on his Throne the Country had been burthened with the hundredth Penny: And he may well call his Prince *Frugal*, that not only saves his own Treasure untoucht, but must have vastly encreased it by the many Millions he hath spung'd from us: Otherwise he could not owe such Arrears to his Army, nor ever make one round Payment, either to them, or for any other Occasion, but he must borrow it from the City; having begun that piece of *Frugality* within one Month after he got the Administration, and is like to continue it as long as he lives, and dye in their Debt. But however *Frugal* he is of his own Money, he is Liberal enough to his *Hollanders* and Confederates, tho' it is at our Charge.

But the late King, saith he, had *one Tax*, and might, *yea would have had more*, for the glorious design of *enslaving his Subjects*, if he could have got a *Parliament* to his purpose. Oh! happy Change for *England*, where the Prince hath got such complying *Parliaments*, that he hath Money given him as much as he will ask, without the least danger of their Denial; though he refuses to gratifie them with any one Act that is for the publick Good of the Nation.

But in King *James's* time we were *in Peace with all Nations*. I pray, who hath entangled us in a War *with the worst Enemy of Europe*? I am sure it was not till the P. of O. Proclaimed it, for his own Safety, not ours; but at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure to defend the Dutch and their and his new Conquests; though we paid 600000 *l.* Imprest Money, and about 20 Millions since, to enable him to continue it.

Yet still saith my Author, *What Grievances are Taxes, in Comparison of what is laid on the French Slaves, into whose Condition we were intended to be brought?* There is a vast difference betwixt losing our Property, and paying some part of our Profits to secure the rest of our Inheritances to our Posterity, as well as to our selves. We have more than once, in most Writers of this Gentleman's Kidney, the French Slavery urged; and the Design of King *James* to make us such. Sure the French are the stupidest and most miserable of Mortals, to be such Slaves, and never own it, or complain of it. During all the War, they pay no more than their accustomed yearly Cesses; and notwithstanding the great Noise we have had, That the King is put to such Straits, that he is forced to melt down his own, and cause his Subjects to bring in their Plate to melt, that he may have the Profit of the Coynage, yet a common Cabaret, like our small victualing houses, have massy Silver Spoons and Forks for their Guests, and Silver Goblets and other Drinking-cups of that Metal: And their Inns of any note serve the best of their Guests in Plate: And in a Lodging you may rent for 15 *l.* a Year, you shall have Silver Basons, Plates, Spoons, Forks and Knives, for your daily use. These are no Signs of Poverty: And as for the Slavery of the Country, Gentlemen and Metropolitan Cities pay no Taxes; they have no such Tenants and Farmers as we: The Peasants till and stock the Ground, and the Lord hath the half in Specie for his Rent; and these are liable to standing Taxes, in some Countries heavier than others, according as they have been true or rebellious to their Princes. Surely a Tenant that divides half with his Landlord cannot want Food or Rayment, and may have more at the Years end than one that pays a Rack-rent: So that the Affrightment of Losing our Property for ever, is likelier to befall us, by an endless War, and Slavery to the Dutch, than by the Restoration of King *James*, which would soon give us a fair Prospect of an happy ending them.

As to his leaping out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, and changing our Whips into Scorpions. It is unusual for him to allow we are in this Reign

Reign under any Pressures; it is likely his Condition is much better in Honors and Profits. But as to what he entermixeth, That to avoid tollerable Payments, *We should rashly bring a fatal War to our Doors, that must last till more than one half of the Nation is destroyed, and the rest utterly and almost irrecoverably destroyed.* All these terrible things may be easily avoided, if according to our Duty and Interest, we make no opposition to our lawful King; then we need not fear the loss of any thing we have, nor the effusion of one drop of Blood. And if his stay should be till the Confederacy were dissolved, which without either Astrology or Divination cannot last 12 Months, we shall be as ready to welcome our King again, as ever the Children of Israel were to re-conduct King David, after the Overthrow of unnatural Absolom.

But our Author tells us, *We have paid as much formerly for assisting France against Europe, &c.* surely he never saw the foot of the Accounts of the Money given. 1300000 l. Was in the Year 1674 thought a prodigious Sum, to maintain the Fleet and Army one Year and a half; whereas now, although the extent of the Confederates Dominions be ten times as much as our Island and Ireland, yet we pay three times as much in eighteen Months.

But we must rake our Author's Word, That *the Sums are not considerable (recoming the abatement of Chimny-Money) which we have paid to this Government; no Country in Europe have paid so little, in proportion to our Wealth, this three last Years of War.* As to the Abatement of Chimny-Money, it was a Shoe-horn, a popular Bate to angle for infinite more Treasures: The Grecians have a Proverb, *The Gifts of Enemies are no Gifts.* We were in danger this last Session of a General-Excise *Ala mode d'Holland*, and some Projects were for a Quarterly Chimny-Money; but these are laid up in Lavender for a fresh supply.

That which will be most insupportable in this good Man's Opinion, is, That if King James return, England *must pay all the Money borrowed of France hitherto; and to discharge the Forces that come to thrust him on us, the Arrears of Chimny-Money, and other publick Money, be called for: And ten times greater Taxes will be continued for many Years.* These and such like were the usual Objections against the restoring King Charles II. yet we found no such prodigious Sum needful, after 12 Years Exile. But our Author thinks the King of France will be as greedy as the unsatiable Dutch, who made us pay Six hundred thousand Pounds for admittance into the Confederacy, besides the Millions paid since for the Honour of Fighting their Quarrel. And our Soldiers must at the best be content with bare Subsistence, that the Confederates may be thoroughly supplied. Whereas the French King wants not our Money, and is more generous than to be mercenary, since the restoring so injured a King, will more redound to his Glory, than any one of his great Achievements hitherto. We shall also then know an end of our Payments, and enjoy Peace

Freedom of Trade for the future ; which will make entire Satisfaction for all our Charge : Whereas in the State we are in, we are not like to extricate our selves from a destructive and expensive War, as long as the Confederates can assist the Prince : For his Pretentions only hinder the Peace of *Christendom*.

That *Trade began to decay in King James's time*, I never heard of, unless it were in those Months when the Dutch occasioned it, by sending the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Prince ; otherwise there was more Traffick in one Year of King *James's*, than in all the time of the new Regency. And that which is most to be consider'd, the Dutch having been always our Rivals in Trade, now that they have got such an Ascendant over us, will never, while they are able, suffer us to enjoy it again. I could, upon this Head, multiply many well grounded Aggravations of our Losses in Trade since the Revolution ; but this good Man would charge them all on the King's Account, and brand me with the Name of *Conjuror*, or of a *Jesuit*, or their Tool, if I should, for any one good thing, magnifie his Reign.

As to the *ingenious History of Dr. King*, which our Author more than once flourisheth with, in due time the dissingenuity, falsehood, and malice of that History, will be detected. However, our Author could scarcely have pitched on any parts of it, wherein such palpable Untruths are asserted, as those he cites ; and this in particular, That King *James* in Ireland *feared and hated the Increase of Trade, which made him use all means to hinder it*.

Finding our Author grounds his Assertion on Dr. King's Authority ; I shall give you what he advanceth on the Subject. *Many a Roman Catholic* Sect. 6. *lick*, saith he, *who pretended to know King James his Mind, have con-* 2-32. *fidently affirmed that he purposely let the Ships of England decay and rot,* (he means the Ships of War,) *that the French might grow great at Sea, and destroy the Trade of the English. The Reason pretended for doing so, was to humble the Subjects, and take away their Wealth from them, which made them proud and surly, so that the King could not have his Will of them. I speak*, saith he, *the Language of those Roman Catholics ; and the King himself could not forbear words to the same purpose.* If this Gentleman had consulted the Book which Mr. *Pepys* published, of the State of the Fleet under King *James*, he would to his Shame and Confusion have found, That K. *James* in the short time of his Reign here, did more towards the repair of his Ships of War, and providing all Naval Stores, than any Two Kings of *England* had done in their times. So that, I hope, when an Author lays the stress of his Argument upon so palpable an Untruth, little Credit ought to be given either to the rest of his Reasoning, or his whole Book.

The thing in this Section the Dr. undertakes to prove, is, That K. *James* designed the ruin of Trade in all his Kingdoms, at least was well pleased with it : But as if he had a design to prevaricate in the whole, or that we must take

take his Assertion on trust, the Medium he useth to prove it by is only this, That formerly the Protestants had the principal, if not the sole Trade of the Nation; but by their flying into *England*, out of the apprehension of the danger of a Massacre, how well grounded I now enquire not, and their Jealousy of a Persecution they declined, or left of their Trade in great Measure: Surely this looks not like a design of *K. James* to ruin Trade. And besides the general Cause, by reason of the War, he unluckily hits but on a single Instance of a Magistrate of *Galloway*, who, contrary to Law, sending Wool into *France* was not punished for it; whereas any one, who was not wilfully resolved to traduce *K. James*, and publish all the Evil he could of his Administration, without any regard to Truth or Falshood, would have judged this an Argument, that the King was willing in that Exigence that his Subjects should Traffick in what they could get vent for, rather than be Prohibited by him.

Besides, I am informed from Persons of better Credit than the Dr. hath rendred himself of, and from Dr. *Gorge* his Letter, That the King was so far from designing the ruin of Trade, that considering, by reason of the War, his Subjects there could not, without hazard and loss export their Commodities of the Product of the Country; he himself bought their Hides, Tallow and Wool, for ready Money, and sent them to *France*, and brought other Commodities back. And the Brass Money he used, was a great help to the quicker Circulation of Commerce; and even the Souldiers, who received it of the Souldiers, might once a Month have Gold for what they brought in. I hope by these small Instances, and what will hereafter be related, as to King *James* his Administration in *Ireland*, such Readers as have been induced to believe hard things of his Management, will pause a while till the Doctor's Book have a more full Answer, before they totally yield themselves to be Mancipated by the Doctor's bold and malicious Assertions.

For notwithstanding what the Confident unsincere Doctor writes, it is on the contrary most evidently known, that the King promoted Traffick as much as possible for him in his Circumstances; and that it might be the more free, he abated the Customs of Commodities Imported and Exported, which was a Demonstration that he encouraged Trade for the benefit of his Subjects, without regard to his own particular Profit, though at that time his wants were so pressing. He caused the Commodities of the Country, which could be spared, to be vended to *France*, in Exchange for Bay-salt, Wine, Brandy, and other Necessaries. I have enquired of intelligent Persons, who lived then in *Ireland*, and cannot understand that he Prohibited Traffick into any other Country; no, not to his Enemies, where any useful Commodity could be Imported. And for the Author's Assertion, That no absolute Prince

(as King James affects to be) likes that his Subjects should grow Rich by Trade; it is neither true in general, nor as applied to the King: But on the contrary, since he hath both before and since he came to the Crown, so far promoted Trade, that he had a Stock going in most of the considerable Companies; it is a sufficient Proof, according to our Author's Maxim, that he affects not to be absolute.

But if we believe our Author, we have a Prince now, who so soon as he can have Peace, will make it his first care to promote Trade here, as he did in the Country he came from. No, he is too much a Dutch-man to do that for Us: We have seen no one Act of his, or his Parliaments, that way; otherwise more care would have been taken to have provided Convoys, as the Dutch have done for theirs, or to have promoted the motion in Parliament for encouraging Privateers, which was no way pursued: Only he hath taken care that the Act of Navigation should be vacated, or dispensed with: And his playing fast and loose with the East-India Company, to their vast Expence, shews that he is solely in the Interest of the States, to give up to the Dutch that whole Trade they have so long, by Treachery and Curely, been attempting.

What follows is but nauseous Repetition of what hath been already abundantly confuted. And as to the dismal time of King James, *When Law and Right was only the King's Pleasure, dictated by Mercenary Judges*, there needs no other confutation, but by inspecting the Journals of the House of Lords; wherein will be found few Appeals in Matters adjudged in the Reign of King James; but more since the Revolution from the Decrees of the Lords Commissioners, than in the whole Reign of the longest lived of our Kings. And I think the Proceedings against Mr. Ashton, Mr. Cross, and the poor Chairman, and the Judges using all their Arts to elude the Habeas Corpus Bill, and their several Fines; as for Instance, Two hundred Pound and Pillory for Drinking King James's Health; their retracting their own Judgments in the case of the Wagers about *Limrick*, and their violent and arbitrary Proceedings in the case of some Lords, and others, wherein all those called *Jacobites* are concerned; will, with impartial Judgments, redound little to their Commendation, either for their Law or Justice. And I am sure whoever Acts not upon those Principles, but to serve a turn only, must bear the Epithet of Mercenary in the greatest degree.

As to King James his learning French Methods, and his return with the addition that Revenge, Hatred and Fear, can make to an angry and implacable Mind; these are the very Scare crows that the Black Parliament and Cromwell set up to affright us from all Inclinations of recalling King Charles: and as the grounds the People of Power in that Age alledged for murdering the blessed Martyr, and excluding his Posterity, were the very same in the general tendency of them; so, as they imitate the same Precedents, they use the same

Arguments;

Arguments; and if it were worth the while, it might be shewn in the same words, for the obstructing our King's Return, that those did then. But if we were once so happy as to see our King restored, his Clemency, Tenderness, Honour and Mercy, would soon so appear, that there would need no other confutation of these black Calumnies. And that he hath not changed with his Air, that Indulgent, Merciful Soul, always conspicuous in him, is sufficiently manifest in all his Royal Actions; whereas, neither the Air of *England*, the Honor, Benefit and Riches, the Prince of *Orange* hath got by it, hath rendred him more English than ever he was, being wholly and entirely Dutch in Soul and Body.

As to his Majesty's *Severity in Ireland to the Protestants*, when the Answer to Dr. King's Malicious Book comes forth, the World will find that by personal Command, Proclamation, and all Methods he could use, the King endeavoured to suppress that revengeful Disposition is common there, betwixt the old Irish and the English; insomuch as the Irish accuse the King as much for, and ascribe his Losses solely, to his Clemency to his Treacherous Protestant Subjects, as our Author does his Severity. And though his Circumstances were then such, as he could not be informed of many things of that kind done, and the Treachery of so many of his Protestant Subjects there, being so often discovered, (of which number I suppose the Dr. was one, who hath been rewarded with a Bishoprick for it,) could not but give occasion sometime to futeable returns by his Ministers: Yet it is owned by very many Protestants there, that he took all opportunities to discover his Mercy and Goodness, to those which had not deserved it at his Hands.

As to the Popular Harrangue the Author makes about the distrust of King *James's keeping his Word, Promise, or Oaths, whereby he was engaged to rule by Law*. The Grounds of all Objections of that kind, resting solely upon his attempt to take off the Penal Laws, I must refer to what I have said on that Head. The just Temper of his Royal Soul and his Interest, are such strong Obligations upon him, that as to all our Laws that concern our Liberty and Property, and the antient Constitution of the Government, which can never countenance Arbitrariness, they will be sufficient Guarantees for dutiful Subjects to rely upon his Governing according to Law; and so he will neither have, nor need any recourse to Absolution. But upon a small enquiry it may be found, that he much more inviolably hath observed all the forementioned Fundamental Laws, than the Prince of *Orange* hath either done them, or his Declaration. Indeed the Dutch Faith is as notoriously known all the World over, as the Punick, or the African, was of Old. And, I think, if ever Subjects had reason to forbear Recriminating upon the head of Breach, of Oaths and Promises, our Author and all engaged in this Government, have the least reason of all Mankind; for they have the most openly, and avowedly broken

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their Oaths of Allegiance, that ever People did; and if they had any Pangs of Conscience for it, they would repent speedily, and seriously such abominable Perjury. But I shall add no more on this Head, but pass to the third Motive laid down by our Author.

Which is, That the Restoration of King James is necessary for the Settling the Government upon its old Basis, and to prevent its relapsing into a Commonwealth. I do believe the Ambition of the Prince of Orange, being Master-Ingredient of his Soul, will possess him to his dying day; so that having by his Arts obtain'd the Possession of a Crown, I doubt not but he will endeavour to keep it as long as he is able. Neither make I any Scruple, but that if, for our farther punishment, he be continued any while upon this Throne, he will attempt the greatest Absoluteness that any Prince can aspire to; which already may be discovered in his Treatments to his Parliaments, whom, as the Romans did with Kings, he makes Instruments of our Slavery, in Spunging all the Money of the Nation for him, and settling his Power, never giving them leave to provide any one Law of universal Good for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

So that our Author might have spared all the Discourse relating to the returning again to a Commonwealth, during the Prince's Power. But *pag. 10.* as to what he urgeth, That it is not likely a Parliament that made an Entail of the Crown in a lineal Succession, should be for a Commonwealth; yet he must own, That the Convention hath given a fair Countenance to the Fundamental Principles of a Commonwealth, in their Vote, *That the late King James, having by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Men, broken the Original Contract betwixt King and People, and endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and since withdrawn himself, hath Abdicated the Government, &c.* Whoever peruseth the Charge against King Charles I. will find the very same Breach of the Original Contract, and Subverting the Fundamental Laws, to be the Groundwork of that Tiranical Charge, and wicked Sentence, against, and barbarous Murther of that pious King.

The only difference between the Proceedings in 1648, and 1688, was, That those settled a Commonwealth, and these changed the Hereditary to an Elective Monarchy; both of them to the manifest subverting of the true Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, upon mere Pretences that the respective Kings had violated them first; and both against the known Maxims of the Law, That the King can do no wrong, and cannot be judged by his People; though all his Ministers, that transgress the Law, are liable to Impeachment in Parliament.

What Security can a new Entail give to Kings, either in Possession, or the Tail in remainder, as long as by these Precedents any powerful Faction, alleging the Breach of such Contract, or Laws, are hereby empower'd to pass Sentence against them? For surely that Force, which can Depose, or Abdic-
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cate from his Throne one King, and exclude his Issue-Male likewise, and settle the Crown upon which of the Blood-Royal is most ambitious of it; may by parity of Reason Depose the new created King, when they are weary of him.

His Instancing, *That there hath been greater Breaches, since the Conquest, as to the true lineal Succession*, may prove, That there have been ambitious Princes in former Ages; but proves no Justice or Right in the Undertaking: And he wisely conceals the Calamities of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, and the whole Kingdom, which attended such Changes, till the right Heir was restored.

Our Author saith, *The King having deserted us, yea, left us without Government, we applied to his next certain Heir; with whom, at her Request, and for our Safety and hers, by a general Consent, a Title was given to her Husband and our Deliverer; but this only for life. And the saving the Succession to the Princess of Denmark and her Heirs, shews how far that Parliament was from designing any such thing as a Commonwealth.* Most people of England had that Opinion of the Princess's tenderness to her Father, that they judged it was not without some reluctance she yielded to forsake Father and Mother, and cleave to her Husband: And she being absent in *Holland*, was thought with much Difficulty to be prevailed with, to come and be Partner of his Honours. For none doubted it was for our Deliverance sake, the Crown was bestowed by those, who had no Legal Right to transfer any Man's Farm of Five Marks a year to another, without the Owners Consent; and we thought he had challenged it as his Right, by the Success of his Arms: For I am sure there was no publick Address from the Convention to the Princess, before her arrival; and that was only that Minute of the Tender, the very next Morning after her coming.

But now we are told it was at the Princess *her request* the Crown was given him. Our Author might as well have delt plainly, and told us the Prince came for the Crown, and we durst not deny it, nor his Princess neither; for if this Age will not, Posterity will so construe it. He also Equivocates with us in telling us, *We continue the Succession to the next Heir*; for that can never be true till he shall utterly disprove the Prince of *Wales*.

Whatever Power the Convention could assume to deprive the King, and the Prince of *Wales* of their Birth-right, so as that they might be looked upon as Dead; yet if the Convention had either regarded the Rules of Hereditary Monarchy, or been just to the Two Sisters, they ought not to have entailed it as they did; for the Prince could have no Right to any, but a Matrimonial Crown, during the Coverture, upon supposal the Princess was the next *certain Heir*, and upon her Death without Issue, the Right was immediately to devolve upon the Princess of *Denmark*; who, surely had not so ill deserved either of the Prince, or the Convention, (having with her Husband contributed as much towards the Dethroning her Father, by the dissenting Him and his

his Interest, as the Prince had done by his Arms,) to have been *Post-poned*. And till the Death of both these Princesses and their Heirs, the Prince had no shadow of Right to the Crown: But he and the Convention knew, that if he had staid so long e'er he caught the Crown, he must wear Iron Shoes; therefore he was resolved to take time by the Fore-lock.

As to the Prince of *Wales*, our bold Author saith, *There are clear Indications of his Birth being an Imposture; and the design of forming that Project, is so known to be revenge on the Princesses for adhearing to their Religion, and to get more time to force Popery and Slavery upon us. Yea his Health and Strenth makes it so unlikely he should proceed from such Crazy Parents, That till the Parties concerned prove the Affirmative by better Witnesses, and clearer Evidence, and the People in Parliament own him for their Heir, we need not go about the unreasonable Task of proving a Negative.*

All these trifling Arguments have been so convincingly, and irrefutably answered in *The Loyal Martyr Vindicated*; that till a satisfactory reply be made thereto, it is but lost labour to trouble any with the Repetition of them. Why was never any answer given to the Address to the Parliament, to admit the through Examination of the whole Matter, whereby it was offered to be proved by still more convincing circumstantiated Testimonies? Why were Mr. *Ashton's* Papers never suffered to come to light? Why have no Judicial Proceedings been attempted to prove the numerous Protestant Ladys, as well as Noble-men, Perjured? Who till then stand upon Record, as uncontroversable Witnesses. If there had not been so many conscientious Protestants of the best Quality Witnesses of his Birth, and more of all Qualities than ever we read of in any History, were present at a Queen of *Englands* Labour, something might have been pretended. But as to the Project he mentions, and the no less Impudent than Insolent Argument of the Craziness of the Parents, to convince the World of these Callumnies; it hath pleased God to bless their Majesties with a Princess, which, upon many accounts, will be more convincing to our Incredulous World, than if it had been a Prince.

I pass by what follows, as sufficiently answered, and proceed to what our Author next proposeth. If it be urged, saith he, *That it is a dangerous Precedent for future Kings to allow the People a Liberty to take away their Princes Right, and set up another on pretence of misgovernment, &c.* the Reply is, the late King was the occasion of this Precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole frame of our Laws, the Government, and Religion, and then Deserting us. *Quis tulit Græcos?* How far, and upon what Motives, the King Dispensed with the Penal Laws, I have spoke to before; and to call that an attempt to alter the whole Frame of our Laws, is to own that all our Laws are Draconick, writ in Blood; That our Government consists only in Fining and Imprisonment; and our Religion hath more of Mount *Sinai* than Mount *Zion* in it. Shall the King

King be loaded with odious Epithers of affecting Arbitrary, Absolute, and Tiranical Government, on that single Score, because he desired to free his People from Sanguinary, and other Penal Laws? This is every whit as probable a Contrivance, as to extirpate the Protestant Religion, by Entertaining 30000 French Protestants. I have touched before, That the long Parliament did Calumniate King *Charles*, with the very same Crimes our Author does King *James*: And whoever reads *Miltons*, or *Godwins* Writings, in Defence of the Proceedings then, will find all the Poysoned Arrows shot against the King, are taken out of that Quiver. And all the Clergy of *England*, who have sworn Allegiance to King *William*, ought to mock God no more, in reading those Prayers appointed for the Days of the Martyrdom of K. *Charles* the First, and K. *Charles* the Second's Restauration: For that the long Parliament, after an Eight Years War, in Defence of the Peoples Liberty, and in opposition to Arbitrary Power and Popery, (as they, with as much confidence as our Author doth now, alledged) had as plausible Pretences to punish that sacred King as a Traytor to his People and their Representatives, and abolish Kingly Government, as the Convention had to abdicate upon Pretences of the King's endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws, and for withdrawing himself to avoid the fatal Stroke his Royal Father received. For tho' at that juncture the Contrivers of the Dethroning K. *James*, knew it would be of dangerous Consequence to their Designs, to have offered violence to him, and would frustrate their fore-designed, Abdication; yet the King had no reason to trust his Royal Person in those Hands, whose very Mercies are Cruelties.

Our *Godwin* Junior goes on, telling us, *If it be an ill President for the safety of Princes, that the advantage was taken; it was however necessary to take it for the safety of the People, for whose good Heaven made Kings*: Yea, and for the preserving of the People from the miserable harassing of them, by the direful Calamities of War upon every dissolution, or interruption of the legal Succession, our wise Ancestors have taken all Care, by the firmest Laws, to establish the true Hereditary Monarchy; nevertheless, there never was Rebellion or Usurpation attempted, but the *Salus Populi*, the Peoples good and safety, was with all Industry pretended.

As to the most comfortable Doctrine to all our Author's Profelites, Associates, or Auditors. That *it seems as necessary that there should be some* Pag 12.
Precedents to deter Princes from abusing their Power, as well as to restrain
the People from abusing their Liberty. I wonder the Author did not say, it seems good to the Holy Ghost and Us, to declare this Doctrine. The Holy Writ tells us, That Offences should be; but Woe to them that cause them. Passive Obedience, Suffering for Conscience sake, is for ever to be Exploded; and, I believe, after strictest enquiry, there will be found nothing in the Doctrine

of our Church, or our Laws, that will countenance such a seeming necessity.

However, lest our Author's Prince, for whose use and information these Precepts are laid down, should suffer any Qualms by them, he provides for him a very Cordial Draught. That *this Precedent can never hurt the Monarchy it self, or countenance a Rebellion, while the King is on the Throne, that will stay to bear the Peoples Grievances; which will never be deny'd by the present, or any other good King.* But what if the Designers of Rebellion should declare it a Grievance, to have a King armed with any Prerogative, even necessary to support his Dignity and Office; or multiply Complaints of Grievances, till he had displaced all his Friends, quitted his Power of the Militia, of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments, or having a Negative Vote. What would become of such a liberal King? May not it be rationally presumed, that if the People were so minded, they might fill up a Bead-Roll of Grievances against the Prince of Orange, every whit as plausible as those this Author hath framed against King James.

The last Motive to induce loyal Subjects to endeavour to restore our King, is worded by our Author to his best advantage in answering of it. *That there is no way to preserve the Church of England, no, nor the Protestant Religion, but by restoring the late King.* On this Head our Gentleman spends his Flashes of Rhetorick, recapitulating all the odious Things, as he calls them, which King James did to destroy the Protestant Religion; and especially to ruin the Church of England: On which Head he runs out into fresh Excursions about his spight to the Protestants in Ireland, his learning in France to Dragoon all Men into the King's Religion, the Motives to draw in the Frenchified Pope to lend him Money to invade us, *By his convincing him he lost all for his zeal to restore Popery.* But these and all the rest, that follow upon the like Topicks, either have had a sufficient answer, or amount unto no more than to tell us K. James is a Roman Catholick; and as such cannot but wish well to his Religion: Or that the King of France, or Pope, have no other Inducements to aid him, but to enable him to ruin our Religion, and make our Kingdom miserable by absolute Empire. In answer to which I shall add, to what before I have touched, these short Considerations.

There are no Passions so Romantic as Love and Hatred; and it is a copious and easie Theam for an English Protestant, that wears the Colours of the long Parliament, Orange and Blue, to write with Venom and Gaull against Popery and the French. But I desire all impartial Readers to consider, whether the King's Religion be the principal Motive to induce the Pope and the French to assist, or rather a generous Compassion for an injured Prince: They are neither of them such Novices, either in Affairs of Religion or State, but to be abundantly satisfied, that is as impossible to settle Popery in England,

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as to establish Judaism or Mahumatism. The utmost of the aim or hopes of this great Triumvirate, can be no more than to obtain, that Roman Catholics may have the common Liberty of other Subjects, and these Dominions return to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign; by which the Peace of Christendom may be more easily obtained.

But our Politick Author saith, *It cannot be ease to Roman Catholics. Pag. 13. the King designs; they are more at ease under K. William, than under any Protestant King since the Reformation.* If this be alledged to endear the P. of O. to the Roman Catholick Confederate Princes, that he keeps his promise to them in using the Papists kindly, than we have as much reason to fear the advancement of Popery from them if they prevail, as from the King of France; for, I think, the Emperor and the Crown of Spain are as zealous in their Religion; as the King of France. If he means that the P. of O. is so indulgent to Roman Catholics, upon any other Consideration; then they are not such dangerous Subjects, but they may be connived at, and tolerated under him, to whom all Religions are indifferent, so they thwart not his Ambition; tho' it was so heinous a Crime in King James, being of their Religion, to shew them any singularity of Regard.

In the next place, our Author falls into a Flourishing about the King's breach of Promise, *And that he having pre-engaged himself to the Pope and French King to the contrary; though his Interest, and the hopes that some will be so mad to believe him, put him upon renewing these promises to England, yet his Confessor can soon resolve him which promise is to be kept; and that by his former Protestations he designed to gull us only, not to oblige himself by them.* It seems, whatever can be said to the contrary, King James must have a cloven Foot and a cloven Tongue. There is no Fence against a Flail: Suspicion and Distrust are incurable Diseases. I have said enough before, to shew, That even in his Declaration for Indulgence, yet he had regard to preserve the Church of England and Protestants; and it is a great Truth, tho' many Mens gaul'd Consciences will not own it, That he hath kept his Promise better to the Church of England and Protestants, than some Millions of them have kept their Oaths to him.

I desire, once for all, That honest Protestants, and sober Englishmen, will consider, Whether King James be endowed with a rational Soul, or no; and in the second place, That they will consider what Proportion, in Number, Strength, Wealth, Interest, or any other Qualifications, the Rom. Catholics bear to Protestants; which some have computed at 200 Protestants to one Papist; And I think it demonstrable that there may be 500. Think now, if a rational King can be so crazed, as to attempt a Change of Religion at such Disadvantages; or can expect to be King of any Figure, over none but Rom. Catholick Subjects. Think then, dear Countrymen, of the King's darling Sin, if you will call it so, his desire that none should be persecuted for Religion.

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Add to this one Consideration more ; That if the Animosities among our selves be such, that each way of Worship have conceived so bitter a Hatred against other, so as they will not allow the tollerating of one another ; must therefore all the *Odium* be cast upon that Christian Temper of the King, who laboured to have them live in outward Quiet at least, as Christian Brethren, and Subjects ty'd in one common Bond of Allegiance to him, the true Father of his Country. When you have deliberated upon all these, I hope you will conclude with me, That it cannot be the King's Interest, in the least jot to vary from his Promises, made in his Royal Declaration, to the Church of *England*, or his Protestant Subjects.

As to what our Author so maliciously urgeth, That *the King declared in Ireland, That the Church of England stunk in his Nose, and that he abhorred it*; both he and Bishop King, if he have uttered any such thing, must excuse me, if I believe it not. King *James* is not a Prince that useth such Language to his most professed Enemies. How tender a Nose soever he hath, his Breath is fragrant as the blooming Rose; and Mercy, Pity, Compassion and Benignity flow from his Lips.

Indeed the Swearing Clergy of *England*, having renounced the old Doctrine of the Church of *England* in point of Allegiance, and the File-leaders, Instigators, and Promoters of those Oaths, and their new Allegiance, can expect no favourable Character from uninterested Persons, or from the true Members of the Church of *England*, who have kept firm to their old Doctrine of Loyalty and Passive Obedience.

For King *James* to pity the misguided Zeal of some, the timorous selfish Desires of others, and the Infatuation of the rest of the Swearing Clergy, I am prone to believe it is true: But to revile, give Names, or pronounce foolish things against them, it is far from the innate Generosity, Mercifulness and Clemency of his Temper.

Our Author's Reflections on the King's Ingratitude, deserves no Answer; it is so well known that he hath ever been the best Master to all his Servants, who served him truly, of any our English Kings we read of; and how great numbers have requited him, is obvious to the World. I never before heard that any of those that served him against the Duke of *Monmouth*, were neglected by him, unless he early perceived they were promoting the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*: And I am confident whoever were such, are conscious to themselves, That they failed of their Duty long before the King withdrew any of his Favours.

To proceed, our Author asks *What it is the Church of England wants, or any other Protestant?* This King is a serious and sincere Protestant, and as true a Lover of that Interest, as King *James* is a profest Enemy to it. That the Prince of *Orange* is in Profession a Protestant, I doubt not; but that he is very morally

rally religious, there is great reason to doubt, since he hath no more tender Regard to the fifth and last Commandment, and was so impatient of his Father's Crown, that he must needs be Proclaimed at the very hour, on *Wednesday*, when the whole Church of *England* was pronouncing the Commination of *Cursed is he that curseth his Father and Mother, removeth his Neighbour's Land-mark, and smiteth his Neighbour secretly*: Which shews, neither he, nor his Advisers to that haste, either regarded the day, or the Comminations against his Undertakings. Philosophers tell us, That the Soul is entirely in the whole, and in every part of the Body; and Writers upon Politicks compare the King in his Kingdom to the Soul in the Body: And if so, the Prince of *Orange* hath Plurality of Souls, as to the outward appearance of his Religion. In *Scotland* he is a very perfect rigid Presbyterian; in *England*, a Lincolne Episcoparian; and I doubt not at the *Hague* and *Amsterdam*, *Calvin* and *Beza* are his Apostles; and amongst the Confederate Princes, *Luther* or *Erasmus*. But in all places his *Diana* is Empire and Riches.

The Church-men, saith our Author, say, *K. William is too kind to Dissenters; but hath he given them other or more Liberty than K. James did? That King began the Tolleration; and it was not for a new King, in a troublesome State of things, to alter any thing of that nature.* Lo! here we have a candid Confession that King *James* did no such horrid thing by his Tolleration, though it was the very ground-work of all the Disaffection from the Church of *England*, and the *Pandora's Box*, out of which all the Writers for this Government fetch their plaguy Calumnies against him.

Let us follow our Author in his good Humour. He saith, *The Dissenters do think the present King too kind to the established Church; not considering it is the National Religion, which he found, and keeps in possession of all its Rights, as his Duty and Oath oblige him; yet so as the Dissenters have Ease, and every thing but Empire.* Good God! Must King *James*, who did the same thing, be Abaddon the Fiend and Destroyer, and the Prince of *Orange*, who writes by his Copy, be an Angel? For shame, let us hear no more of King *James* his Arbitrary Rule, Tyranny, Dragooning, and Breach of Promises.

As to what our Author subjoyns, *That the King is not only the Head and Protector of the Protestants of England, but of all the Reformed Churches in Europe; the two Northern Crowns, it seems, and the Protestant Princes of Germany,* are ignobler Members in comparison of him; yet he and his Popish Souldiers can more closely combine with the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as professed Enemies to his Headship, as any in that Communion; and he must be thought wise and pious for it. And neither his nor his Armies Stomachs are turned at the Idolatry of their Church; yet King *James* is mortally persecuted for desiring his Popish Subjects should share in a Tolleration, or in the Liberties common to other Englishmen. Sure, he might be as indulgent to his Roman-

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Catholick Subjects, as the Prince of *Orange* is to whole Armies of the Confederate Papists.

As to the French King's *desperately weakening himself, by banishing Thirty thousand Families of useful Subjects, only to root the whole Profession out of his Dominion*, I shall say nothing: That King knows best his Reasons; and I am sure King *James* was not of his Council; otherwise he would not so chearfully and cordially have entertained them, cherished and supplied them. What grateful Returns they (and other Protestants, who were so much better'd by his Indulgence,) have made to him, all Men are sensible. Yet he can and will forgive them, and will have more Content and Satisfaction to have the Power of pardoning and forgiving, than they have ever had in their Treachery to him, and their insulting over him.

As if our Author had not spent his utmost Malice in distorting and misapplying whatever King *James* did, he now turns Prognosticator, and boldly undertakes to divine the Intentions of his Soul, as if he had got some Familiar to tell him it: *I doubt not but for a while, saith he, he would maintain the establish'd Church, and renew his Indulgence, because he can get footing no other way. But it is easie to see how short liv'd those sham Favours will be. They spring from Fear, and desire of Opportunity to be revenged; and so soon as ever the Fear ceases, and that Opportunity comes, he will most certainly kick down the Ladder by which he ascended, and pull off the Mask, appearing what he is in his Nature and Principles, and not what his Necessities have made him seem to be.*

This is the very Sting in the Scorpion's Tail. But if Prejudice, Envy, and implacable Malice, did not thus wickedly misrepresent a just and merciful Prince, this Author and all his Partakers would own, That the universal Liberty of his Subjects, in matters of Religion, is so rooted in his Soul, and so congenial to his Temper, that he can never be a Persecutor on any account of Religion: And he is as well convinced that the Church of *England* must be countenanced and maintained in all its Rights and Privileges, upon the account that the Monarchy requires it, as our Author must own, whatever Religion the King shall be of: Both which, as to the Church and Dissenters, are as fully laid down in his Declaration, as words can express; and it will be his Care, as it is absolutely his Interest, to continue them, say this Dreamer what he will; not only for the repose of himself in his declining Age, but for the security of his Son, the hopeful Prince; for whose peaceable Reign he ought to provide. All which things duly considered, it is impossible but the King will inviolably and sacredly keep and observe every Promise in his *Royal Declaration*; and that he will never attempt, either to suppress our Religion, or infringe the least of our Liberties or Properties.

So that it is an unjust and ungrounded Aspersion of our Author, that his dutiful Subjects, *In assisting to reinstate him, and fighting for him, they fight against*
themselves

their own Religion; which the Primitive Christians, for all their Heroick Loyalty would not do; and which no Men ought to do for Interest or Revenge.

Is it not as lawful for the King's loyal Subjects to assist, and fight against the mortal Enemies of his Crown and Dignity, (whereof he is deprived unjustly by a Son and Daughter, by the Force of Strangers and Popish Soldiers, and the Treachery of his own Subjects,) when to restore him and the Constitutional Laws of the Government, and the Church of *England*, to its ancient Doctrine of Loyalty; as it is for Protestant Princes, not to mention Roman Catholick Kings, to fight against one another for the Rights of their Jurisdictions or Crowns, without fighting against their own Religion? I do verily believe the Heroick Loyalty of Primitive Christians, in such a Quarrel as King *James's* is, would have engaged them as Cordially and Unanimously to have fought in defence of such a Right, as they would, or did, for the enlarging the Roman Empire. Neither doubt I that the loyal Subjects of King *James* are as circumspect, that they do nothing to endamage their Religion, as any of the Prince of *Orange's* Confederate Protestants, or himself, can be. It is not our Religion our Author and his Party are so much concerned for, as the losing the sweet Power, and Dominion, they have got, and the disposal of the Wealth and Strength of these Kingdoms. For if they could enforce the King of *France* to let King *William* Reign, they would no more regard the promoting the Prosperity of the Church of *England* than *Oliver Cromwell* did. It is the securing the Usurpation, not Religion, is their chief End; and all the loud cries and clamours against the French King, are only because he espouseth King *James's* Interest: For we cannot forget, that when, in the minority of the present King of *France*, *Cromwell* had wrought so with the French Councils, as to abandon the Interest of King *Charles* the Second; he and all his Power joyn'd with *France* in all their Wars against *Spain*, as now his Successor doth for *Spain* against *France*, and judged their Religion no way Interested, they fought against the Dutch also, and their Protestant Confederates on the same Quarrel.

But that we may believe that the zeal of our Author for his Religion, outweighs all other considerations. He tells us, *For my part, I think true Religion so far above all Concerns, and the Preservation of it so principal an advantage of Government; that the Prince who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away Liberty, Estate, or my Life; and it must be a damnable Sin in me to assist him in it, or to put him into a capacity to do it; no Oath or Allegiance, can bind me to this, it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a Design.*

What answer can be expected to be given, to a Position laid down in such general Terms. Every one judgeth the Religion he professeth to be the truest: And if it be so damnable a Sin for any Subject that is under the Obligation

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gation of an Oath, or Allegiance, to assist a Prince that would suppress any Religion the Subject thinks true; or put him in a capacity to do it, the Doctrine of Passive Obedience is the very safest and comfortablest Doctrine in the World; for this will preserve all Persons, that practice it, free from Sin; and it will be no ill preservative against Suffering: For a Non-resisting Enemy ought to have the fairest Quarter. But before our Author had laid such a stress upon true Religion, that a Prince who will *certainly* suppress it is more intolerable, than he that *would take away our Liberties, Estate and Life*; it had been necessary for him to have declared what the true Religion was, whether Protestantism in general, or any Subdivision of it: For I dare be bold to affirm, though I never do, nor am solicitous to know the Author; yet if he be of any of the several Classes of Protestants, he will not pronounce this severe Sentence against any Prince, who suppresseth any one, or all the Forms of Religion, except that which he professeth.

But what if a loyal Subject of King *James* be not convinced, that the King will *certainly* suppress either our Protestant Religion in general, or the Church of *England* in particular? What must such a Subject do? He is *certain* by the Laws of God, and the municipal Laws of the Kingdom, that the King is his lawful Sovereign, and he cannot dispense with his Oaths, or Allegiance to him; and is not so *certain* that the King will suppress his Religion, having his solemn and repeated Promises to the contrary, backed by his true Interest to perform them. Surely such a Protestant Subject may be allowed not to resist him; and then, if as the late Declaration saith, *There should be none but the Usurper and his Foreign Troops for the King to deal with*. In what Condition would the Government be? Oh! we must then renounce all this Doctrine of Non-resistance, and Conjure up the Spirits of *Marshal* and *Burges*, and the rest of the Militant Preachers of the long Parliament, to instruct us again in the Doctrine of *Curse ye Meroz*.

But our Author, fearing Error and Mistake may be involved in generals; he towards the close of his Discourse explains the Matter more particularly in these Words, *Wherefore for Shame let his Irish and his English Popish Subjects alone carry on this impious Design, who can only hope for advantage by his Restoration, and who are only bound in Conscience to help him*.

It is strange our Author will prefer the Consciences of Irish and English Popish Subjects so much. It seems they may deserve the Epithet of *Subjects* to *K. James*; yea, and are bound in Conscience to help him: They are much obliged to him for the Complement. It puts me in mind of an Expression I have heard affirmed, that fell from the first new Bishop of the last Edition, *That the Papists were Saints, in comparison, to Protestant Jacobites*. Surely he will next plead, that they may have only Liberty of Conscience, who are only bound in Conscience to help King *James*. This may please the Confederate Roman Catholic

tholick Princes better, than it would that they had liberty to assist him.

It seems Religion is the only Ligament that binds Subjects to their Obedience; a Popish King can have no Protestant Subjects, Dominion is founded in Grace. Henceforward no King must make account of his People, who possess Estates, or inhabit within his Dominions, to be his Subjects, unless they be of his Religion: A rare secret to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance. And if Princes were not better Natured than our Author, his Position would force all Kings to Dragoon all their Subjects to their own Religion; lest they might be in danger from such, who living within their Territories owe them no Allegiance.

But whatever favourable Character he can give to *Papists*, yet as they are *Jacobites*, their *Designs are Impious*; therefore we Protestant Subjects must not join them, *But neutrals we must stand at least; and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a Party that is, which must be set up on the Nations ruin.*

Well, the good Gentleman allows, That Popish Subjects are bound in conscience to help King *James*; and Protestants, whether Subjects or not, to stand neuter; and then he doubts not but the P. of O. shall carry the day; for the *Papists* are but a contemptible People. We have almost through his whole Discourse been affrighted with the terrible Inundation of Popery; nothing but ruine, and the extirpation of the *Protestant Religion* and the Church of *England*, to be expected from *Papists*: And yet now even Irish and English *Papists*, combining with their full Force, can make but a contemptible Party. Thus *Margery's* good Cow gives a good Meal, and casts it down with her Foot. Our Fears of bloody, persecuting, triumphing Popery, are blown over.

But whether the matter be true or false, we ought not to pass over the use and application of this Text. We Protestants therefore that have any Affection for King *James*, must first note, That this contemptible party cannot be set up, but upon the Nations Ruine: And secondly, it is impossible for King *James* to cut down the *Protestant Religion* in *England*, without borrowing a handle from the Tree he would fell. Then it is impossible, by the *French King's* Aid; so that the fear of that force is likewise out of Doors; it is then only in the Power of Protestants. If therefore English Protestant Subjects will take into Consideration these Motives before laid down, as how unjustly K. J. was deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths are bound to defend him in Possession of it; if they will deliver themselves from the Oppression they have suffered in Taxes, Quartering of Soldiers, decay of Trade, and eminent Danger of losing it all to the Dutch; if they will have again restored the old Laws of the Hereditary Monarchy, so judiciously settled by our wise Ancestors, and confirmed to be the best form of Government for this Kingdom by long and long Experience, as well of the Benefits of it, as

by the certain, constant, and never failing Miseries, which ever have befallen the Subjects upon any interruptions of it; and if we will secure our Religion upon the old Foundations of Loyalty, preserving all other Doctrines of Reformation entire, past the possibility of the contemptible Number of Roman Catholick Subjects Disturbance of it, in the free Exercise of it; and lay an Eternal Obligation on the King to Maintain and Protect the Charob of England, with a Parliamentary Settlement of Liberty of Conscience, in so beneficial a manner, that it may remain a lasting Blessing to this Kingdom; if we will see the Breaches repaired, and the Wounds of the late Distractions healed, Trade restored, and the bringing back Peace, Plenty, and Wealth to the Nation: Then we must cordially, and unanimously, assit our so infinitely injured Prince, to recover his Rights. By this means we shall prevent the effusion of Blood, secure our Liberties and Properties, better and more sure, than ever we can expect them to be under the Prince of Orange, or any Dutch Governor. And our lawful King being restored, He will delight to spend the remainder of his Reign as he always designed since his coming to the Crown, if he had not been so interrupted by Dutch Contrivances, in studying to do every thing, that may contribute to the establishment of the Greatness of the English Monarchy upon its old and true Foundations, the united Interest and Affection of the People.

Neither will the blessing of his Restauration fall only upon our Goshen; but all Europe will be Participants of the Happiness. For upon the settling these Kingdoms upon a durable State of Peace and Plenty, the universal Peace of Christendom will be much facilitated; which, as the Case now stands, can never be effected so long as the King is kept from his Throne; during which time, no rational Project of a Treaty can be formed in order to it. The Prince, our present Lord, is sensible of this; and by this time both he and the Confederates cannot but be convinced, That if it had not been for his Ambition of three Crowns, Expedients might have been long since found, to have composed the Quarrels betwixt the King of France and the Confederate Princes.

It is the single and separate Interest of our so magnified Deliverer, that is the principal, if not sole Obstacle of a general Peace in Europe. I think he hath lately been told, by a Sovereign Prince, who knows the difference betwixt an Elector of Germany and an elective and precarious King, That it never was the Intendment of the rest of the Confederate Princes, that he should usurp his Father's Crowns: He was sent into England for another end, only to prevent the Conjunction of King James with France; which they needed have had no suspicion of, if they had given Credit to the Expressions or Interest of a Prince who only wants that piece of King-craft, to dissemble. If common Fame be not an egregious Lyar; our Hero hath been told, both from the Duke of Bavaria, and finds it the Resolution of his Native Country, That they will not run the Hazard of the Ruine of themselves and

and Countries, for the endeavouring to promote his single ambitious ends. There might be some Temptation to stand by him, if he had any Legitimate Issue to leave his Crowns to, such as *Henry* the Fifth was: But for one that, in God's just Judgment for his unnatural undutifulness, is like to be writ Childless; there must be some greater Charms than are obvious to the World, either in his Person or Disposition, that can oblige Princes to espouse the desperate Fortune of a Man who regards no Person living, longer than they serve his ambitions, proud, revengeful, or covetous ends; for whatever such gross Sycophants, as his new Chaplains of the first Orb, may say, these truly are his Cardinal Virtues.

It's true, he hath deserved considerably of his Allies. He hath from his acquired Dominions furnisht them with vast Armies, vast Fleets, and a proportionable vast Mass of Money: But they have not thriven with his ill gotten Goods; and the Duke of *Savoy* hath found his Pensions to be *Aurum Tolusannum*: And the King of *Spain* doth already find, That *He* hath brought more Mischief to his Crown, than his Great-Grandfire of his Name did, who was the principal Author of the Revolt of those Provinces. And since I have mentioned that Prince *William*, I think it not amiss to transcribe Cardinal *Bentivoglio's* Character of him, out of his Relation of *Flanders*; and leave it to the impartial Reader to judge, in how few particulars of the Virtues ascribed to that Prince, ours agrees; and what Additions they will make to his Vices. The Words are these, *Lib. 2. C. 2.* "The Prince of *Orange* was in great esteem with the Dutch; and truly he was a Man of very great parts; of a strong Body, constant Mind, flowing Tongue, good at Council, he was very dexterous, and wonderfully vigilant. But these Virtues were counterpoised with much greater Vices. There was no Faithfulness in him, no Goodness, no Shame to do evil, his Religion was only outward; he was of an unquiet Mind, and greatly ambitious: Nor was there ever any who knew better to winde People by Deceit, nor knew better to cloath his own ends with Zeal to the Publick.

But to return to the Matter in hand; I believe the Dutch, who gave him the first Lift to the Saddle Eaves, will have little cause to erect a Statue for him. For if they desert him not in time, they may live to see an end of their Republick, which hath continued long enough to be the Plague of *Christendom*.

As for the Princes who serve his Interest and Ends, so long as he powres our Coin so plentifully into their Laps they will aid him; but now finding his Cash run low, will knock of in time. But suppose all these, for the Service he hath done them, are obliged to a Princely Gratitude? Surely *England* cannot say as much, unless we are to thank him for altering our Constitution of Government, destroying our Laws, and hawling our Men to the Shambles, giving away

away our Trade to the Dutch, Perjuring the Clergy and Layry, squandering those many Millions of Money from us, and transporting them to Dutch-Land, begging one part of the Subject with Taxes, and another with his outrageous Souldiers, who for want of Pay and Discipline, live upon Rapine and free Quarter, as if they were in an Enemies Country.

And if the Matter be thus handled, whilst the War is thus carried abroad. What must we expect when the Confederates have left him, and he returns with the Vengeance of an Enemy at his Heels, and translates the War into our own Country?

Surely these so sensible Considerations should effectually prevail with us, to recal our King without Foreign Troops; which would infinitely more content him, than all the Absoluteness his malicious Enemies unjustly Calumniate him with an aspiring to. It is our Wealth, Liberty, Prosperity and Renown, he prefers before all the personal Advantages to himself: Fatherly Affection is inherent in his Nature; and to leave us in the peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion and Laws, will be his sole Care and Endeavour, that he may leave the Prince his Son an undisturbed Reign.

I shall now conclude, as near as I can, with our Author's Words, but with a quite different Application. *Take Warning noble Patriots, and worthy Fellow Subjects, by what is past, and what must be the inevitable Consequence of our deserting our lawful King, and assisting the Prince, even to the ruin of the most Famous True Church of England, your selves, and native Country.* The scandal of your Religion, the abolishing the Fundamental Laws of the old Constitution of the English Monarchy, and the certain continuance of the destructive War, in all the Countries now concerned in it; to which there can be no such Expedient found to put a Period to it, as the restoring our lawful King by our own Endeavours, without unnecessary Foreign Force.

Sir, I take God to Witness, what I have writ proceeds from no design of countenancing Popery, or Arbitrary Power. I have set down my Thoughts for no other end, but out of an unfeigned desire of the universal Good of my native Country; wishing nothing more than that those may truly Repent, and make Restitution, who have been Authors of so much Misery to it by the Revolution; that our Kingdom may again be restored to Peace and Plenty, under our lawful King and the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom; and that those who are of different Judgments, will, with equal Candor and Impartiality, satisfy the Consciences of their dissenting Brethren, rather than, with the Severities that are accustomed to be used, to stifle the Reasoning of true unbiassed Lovers of Truth, Loyalty, and their Country.

